

# AUROLA

KNOWLEDGE . . . LIBERTY . . . UTILITY . . . REPRESENTATION . . . RESPONSIBILITY.

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## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

From the (London) Standard of 29th May.

### THE KING AND THE BISHOPS.

It will be seen by the *Court Circular*, that the Archbishops and Bishops, preceded by the Archbishops of Canterbury and Armagh, waited upon the Sovereign with a dutiful and affectionate birth-day address of congratulation, which was delivered in the Royal closet by the most Rev. Primates of England. For what follows, we pledge whatever of character for veracity and caution this journal has earned. We believe that we give the very words of our beloved Monarch; we are sure that we give the substance of his reply with the strictest fidelity.

After a short conversation, in which His Majesty said, among other things, "I now remember you have a right to require of me to be resolute in the defence of the church," the King proceeded—

"I have been, by the circumstances of my life, and by conviction, led to support toleration to the utmost extent of which it is justly capable; but toleration must not be suffered to go into licentiousness; it has no bounds, which it is my duty and which I am resolved to maintain. I am, from the deepest conviction, attached to the pure Protestant faith, which this church, of which I am the temporal head, is the human means of diffusing and preserving in this land.

"I cannot forget what was the course of events that placed my family on the throne which I now fill. These events were consummated in a revolution which was rendered necessary, and was effected, not, as has sometimes been most erroneously stated, merely for the sake of the temporal liberties of the people, but for the preservation of their religion. It was for the defence of the religion of the country that was made the settlement of the crown which has placed me in the situation that I now fill; and that religion, and the church of England and Ireland, (Ireland with peculiar emphasis,) the prelates of which are now before me, it is my fixed purpose, determination, and resolution to maintain.

"The present bishops, I am quite satisfied (and I am rejoiced to hear from them and from all, the same of the clergy, in general, under their governance,) have never been excelled at any period of the history of our church by any of their predecessors, in learning, piety, or zeal, in the discharge of their high duties. If there are any of the inferior arrangements in the discipline of the church, which, however, I greatly doubt, (the expression of doubt was again delivered by His Majesty with great emphasis,) that require amendment, I have no distrust of the readiness and ability of the prelates, now before me, to correct such things, and to you, I trust, they will be left to correct, with your authority unimpaired and unshackled.

"I trust it will not be supposed that I am speaking to you a speech which I have got by heart. No, I am declaring to you my real and genuine sentiments. I have almost completed my 69th year, and though blessed by God with a very rare measure of health, not having known what sickness is for some years, yet I do not blind myself to the plain and evident truth, that increase of years must tell largely upon me when sickness shall come. I cannot, therefore, expect that I shall be very long in this world. It is under this impression that I tell you, that while I know that the law of the land considers it impossible that I should do wrong—that while I know there is no earthly power which can call me to account—this only makes me the more deeply sensible of the responsibility under which I stand to that Almighty Being before whom we must all one day appear. When that day shall come, you will know whether I am sincere in the declaration which I now make of firm attachment to the church, and resolution to maintain it.

"I have spoken more strongly than usual, because of unhappy circumstances that have forced themselves upon the observation of all. The threats of those who are enemies of the church make it the more necessary for those who feel their duty to that church,

to speak out. The words which you hear from me, are, indeed, spoken by mouth, but they flow from my heart."

His Majesty was affected to tears during the delivery of this declaration, and concluded the interview by inviting the prelates to partake of the Holy Communion with him at the Chapel Royal, on Tuesday, the 22d of June.

The Archbishop of Armagh presented to His Majesty, at the levee, the address of which the following is a copy. The address, we are informed, was signed by 17 out of the 20 Irish prelates, and by the clergy, with few exceptions, of those dioceses in which it was circulated; 1,441 names are affixed to it. The Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Kildare, it is understood, objected to the address. The Bishop of Meath approved of it, but did not sign it.

#### "TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"We, the undersigned archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the Irish branch of the united church of England and Ireland, dutifully crave permission to approach your Majesty with a declaration of our deliberate, unshaken, and cordial attachment to the polity, the doctrines, and the worship of the church as by law established.

"Admitted, as we have been, to the ministry of that church, on the faith of our avowed adherence to its principles and institutions, such a declaration on our part might be deemed superfluous in ordinary seasons.

"But the times in which our lot is cast are not of an ordinary character. We trust, therefore, that it will not be deemed unbecoming in us, if, actuated solely by a sense of duty, we openly make profession of our sentiments, hoping that we may thereby contribute, under the Divine blessing, to check the prevailing fondness for innovation, to give mutual encouragement and support to each other, and to remove that disquietude and distrust which have been produced by the apprehension of ill-advised changes in the minds of those who are committed to our spiritual care.

"We conscientiously believe that the polity of our church is modelled, as closely as diversity of circumstances will permit, on the ecclesiastical institutions founded by our Lord's apostles, and transmitted to us by their successors; that the system of our doctrine embodies 'the faith once delivered to the saints;' and that our liturgy is framed after the pattern of the best remains of primitive Christianity, conveying at all times the fundamental truths of the Holy Scripture, and not seldom in its express words.

"In a church thus pure in doctrine and apostolical in formation, whose religious services are endeared by long usage to the devotional feelings of its members, and whose polity harmonizes with the institutions of the state, to which it has ever proved itself a faithful and judicious ally, we deprecate the introduction of undefined changes and experiments; and we humbly trust that no alteration will be made in the discipline and services of our church, but by the sanction and recommendation of its spiritual guardians.

"Should, however, abuses be found to exist in our ecclesiastical establishment, we profess our readiness to co-operate for their removal.

"But we humbly submit to your Majesty, in the language of the preface to our Book of Common Prayer, that 'Experience sheweth, that where a change hath been made of things advisedly established, no evident necessity so requiring, sundry inconveniences have thereupon ensued, and those more and greater than the evils that were intended to be remedied by such change.'

"That, accordingly, it is wiser to submit to small and questionable inconvenience, than by impatiently attempting its removal to expose ourselves to the risk of great and undoubted evil.

"That if it be 'reasonable,' as in the language of the same preface we admit it to be, 'that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made in our forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, as to those that are in place or authority should from

time to time seem either necessary or expedient;' it is no less reasonable that such alterations as are at any time made should be shown to be either 'necessary or expedient,' and that we do not apprehend this to have been done in respect of the changes which various persons, widely differing among themselves, are understood to have in contemplation.

"That a general agreement as to the things requiring correction, the nature and extent of such correction, and the mode of applying it, may be reasonably demanded from the persons desirous of change, as an indispensable preliminary to the concurrence of others with their views.

"That an opening once made for innovation gives occasion to alterations not limited to the particulars which were supposed to stand in need of redress, but indefinitely extended to others which were previously esteemed to be free from all objection.

"And that thus incalculable danger, arising from comparatively small beginnings, may accrue to our apostolical form of polity, and to the purity of the Christian doctrine incorporated in our public services.

"All which is dutifully submitted, &c."

#### NOTABILIA.

Mr. Smith, a celebrated Derbyshire breeder, lately sold one of his bulls for 1500 guineas.

The number of writs issued from the English law courts last year was, in round numbers, 88,000, of which 39,000 were from the Court of King's Bench, 7000 from the Common Pleas, and 42,000 from the Exchequer.

The copper springs in the county of Wicklow, in Ireland, owed the discovery of their valuable quality to the following circumstance:—About the middle of the eighteenth century, when the opening of the rich mines of Crone Bawn had compensated the loss of the more ancient workings of Ballymurtagh, a workman happened to leave an iron shovel in one of the levels from the former mine, by which issued a copious stream strongly impregnated with copper; on taking out the implement some weeks after, it was found so completely incrustated, that it was at first thought to be converted into copper. This accident suggested the advantage of laying bars of iron in the streams, by means of which the copper in the water was precipitated upon the iron, which became corroded by the process, and fell to the bottom as a reddish mud, and which, on being taken out and dried, appeared a sort of dust of the same color, in which state it was ready for smelting. About 500 tons of iron were laid at one time in these pits: in about twelve months the bars became dissolved; one ton of iron yielding a ton and a half, and sometimes nearly two tons, of the metalliferous precipitate, and each ton of the latter producing 16 cwt. of pure copper. It is a knowledge of this affinity between the two metals that has furnished the miners with a very simple, but almost infallible method of ascertaining whether an ore contains copper. They drop a little nitric acid upon the mass, and after a while dip a feather into the acid and draw it over the polished blade of a knife; and if there be the smallest quantity of copper present, it will be precipitated on the steel.

The amount of taxes repealed and reduced in England, since 1814 is £2,345,523: of new taxes imposed since that period, 5,836,110: 10s.; net reduction, 36,509,418: 10s.

London owns 2663 ships, Newcastle 987, Liverpool 805, Sunderland 324, Whitehaven 496, Hull 579, Bristol 316, Yarmouth 579, Plymouth 302, Dartmouth 349, Beaumaris 389, Carlisle 281, Gloucester 247, Rochester 255, Faversham 217, Colchester 235, Greenock 371, Glasgow 335, Aberdeen 350, Dundee 209, Leith 263, Grangemouth 304, Belfast 247, Dublin 289, Cork 256, Jersey 200, and Man 217; with other ports; in all 19,110, and 2,199,950 tons; seamen 134,516. Colonial shipping 4243, and 317,041 tons. The colliers to London in 1832 were 7437.

#### CHURCHMEN AND DISSENTERS.

Number of Churchmen and Dissenters compared.—In Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with a population of 52,765, the six Churches and Chapels of the Establishment contain accommodation for 7650; the actual hearers 4800.

The 23 Dissenting Chapels have accommodation for 14,383, and have 9510 hearers.

In Morpeth, with a population of 3737, the Parish Church has accommodation for 700, and 400 hearers, and 60 Sunday scholars; the five Dissenting Chapels have accommodation for 1930, and 1310 hearers, and 404 Sunday scholars.

In Sunderland and Bishop-Wearmouth, with a population of 28,650, the four Churches and Chapels of the Establishment have accommodation for 5000, hearers 2300, actual communicants 325, and 900 Sunday scholars. The 15 Dissenting Chapels have accommodation for 10,460, actual hearers 8365, communicants 2700, and 2142 Sunday scholars.

In Monkwearmouth, with a population of 9428, the Church and Chapel have accommodation for 1250; hearers 800, and 60 communicants. The four Dissenting Chapels have accommodation for 2800; actual hearers 1850; communicants 580; and Sunday scholars 620.

The whole (the communicants and Sunday scholars of Newcastle are not stated) gives, for the Church of England, accommodation for 14,000; hearers 8300; communicants 336; Sunday scholars 960.

For the Dissenters, accommodation for 29,633; hearers 21,035; communicants 3280; Sunday scholars 3166.





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PHILADELPHIA, AUG. 16, 1834.

## LET US CONSIDER!

We enjoy, indisputably, the most free and fortunate country on this globe. Some parts of Europe, Asia, and South America, may possess climates less exposed to the severities of a short winter, or a less ardent sun, than we have for some two or three weeks of summer; but taking it altogether, our climate is adapted to form a hardy race of men, accustomed from very infancy to meet the vicissitudes of any climate—and wherever they find their way upon the wings of commerce, prepared for every change.

Yet our career of prosperity is much more ascribable to the peculiarities of our position and circumstances, than to worldly wisdom, or any other cause whatever. We have not been deficient of *wise men*—nor have we, as a people, been as wise as our position and circumstances ought to have made us; yet, it is very grateful to reflect, that the *redeeming spirit of Democracy* has not been slow nor idle, in calling men back to sobriety, whenever excessive prosperity, or wickedness, has made men drunk, or blind to the bounties of heaven, which has given us so many means of happiness.

The examples of the republics of former ages, have been so frequently resorted to, as warnings against similar dangers, that the force of the example has been somewhat diminished, by the frequency of citation. We need not, however, go beyond our own *half-century* of national existence, to find matter enough for admonition, and for example.

Let any sedate man inquire concerning the causes of those transactions which have, occasionally, disturbed the repose of our republic—and to appearance, threatened its extinction, even before it had assumed the full exercise of its fundamental institutions. Take only some leading transactions—leaving those of a minor bearing out of the consideration. Let us pass over Shea's insurrection in Massachusetts, the *whiskey* and the *hot water* war, in Pennsylvania, at different periods, though they are all pregnant with matter for historical exemplifications; let us even pass over the *Washita empire*, and the phenomena of the juridical *inquisition*, which grew out of it; and limit our contemplations to the scenes of the late war—the odious disaffection to the government, which withheld its quotas from the public defence, and in a great measure, paralysed the public force, in diverting it from action on the enemy, by the necessity of watching the worst of all enemies, the perfidious traitors at home.

To what cause, or causes, must be ascribed the wickedness of that day? When the Boston Port Bill closed the waters of Massachusetts, and threatened the whole of that section of the young Union, with desolation—what was the conduct of those States most remote from the theatre of immediate danger and affliction? Then stood forth the gallant sons of Virginia and South Carolina—the noiseless Pennsylvanian, and the hardy true blues of Jersey. Those generous souls did not calculate upon power or place; the safety of their country, and the succor of their brother countrymen, were their only considerations—and under such auspices they triumphed.

How then did it happen, that in the late war there should be men in the New England States, so lost to generosity, and a common interest, as to become under the hollow pretext of constitutional scruples—effective partisans of their old enemy, now the same public enemy?

These are proper questions to moot and ponder upon—they are the materials of historical inquiry, and of most important induction!

We have, it is true, several apologies and glosses, and palliations—written, too, by parties in the treason, and who speak with the demureness of a quaker, on the innocence and harmlessness of their paper belligerency! They do not deny, they cannot, that the withholding of the militia, from the defence of their own country, was a powerful diversion in favor of the enemy; they pretend not to know that by rendering the presence of our little army necessary to quell treason, they were prolonging the war, and frustrating the wisdom and valor of the nation. The gallant Pike was prevented fulfilling his plan of taking Halifax, and thus cutting up the naval rendezvous there, from which the eastern ports were kept in a constant virtual blockade. They affect not to know those things, perhaps secretly chuckle at the very wickedness which they pretend not to know, or not to believe. These matters are of history, and though it is to be deplored, it is the use of history to hold up great crimes, and great criminals as *warnings* to those who are to follow. It must be afflicting to the virtuous men of those States, so disgraced during the war, by the Hartford Convention, that such shame should have been acted on the very theatre where so many virtues were displayed in the early stages of the revolution; but it must be done—the salutary truths, though shameful and indelible on the actors, must be brought forth to the rising generation.

And for *what good*?—some sly, slippery, half-way-house patriot, will ask: for *what good*?

It is by examining and unfolding the springs of human action, in the past, that you may know what men mean to do—and to understand what they profess, now and hereafter.

*What good!*—Great good. In the conduct of Governor Strong, and the Hartford Convention, we discern the workings of human passions—avarice, lust of power, and disappointed ambition. No man of sense will suppose that the leaders in those odious seditions, contemplated returning under the dominion of Great Britain; it would be betraying an extreme ignorance of the human character to suppose so. But then comes the question—What was their spring of action?—What object did they contemplate?

In the mysterious ways of nature, we constantly find antagonist causes producing effects which do not concur with either impulse. The American revolution had not all hearts with it;—many who espoused it, did so with personal, and not public views. The great force of ecclesiastical influence, which operated in support of a separation from the domination of Europe, had other and more effective motives than the love of liberty. It has been said, that Presbyterianism is to be interpreted, as consisting of any thing and every thing that is opposed to Popery; and the controversies of our own day, corroborate the adage;—so the ecclesiastical aid which the revolution obtained, had a two-fold prospect, and spring of action. The efforts made before the revolution to establish Episcopacy, had alarmed the descendants of the Puritans, and they feared if the mother country succeeded, that we should be saddled, as England is, with an enormous and intolerant Episcopal hierarchy; but that in the event of the triumph of the independent cause, they might establish a kirk of Scotland, or a kirk of Geneva, or some such paramount church. Indeed, we see in our own day, after a lapse of more than half a century, that the idea of a *sect controlling the government*, by the force of numbers at the ballot, has not only been avowed, but

the period of its ascendancy over the civil government, actually anticipated, in a sort of mock prophetic spirit!

As it was with the ecclesiastics, so was it with numerous civilians—but especially among the *legal tribe*. A colonial attorney, of the highest order in the colonial period, had more imaginary than actual dignity or consequence; the ablest lawyers then, were up n a par with that *epicene* species, which is in common parlance, called a county court lawyer.

Such men—and they were not few in the south, as well as the east—such men saw in the revolution, through a *double vista* of their own. Instead of the third, or fifth rate importance of collecting small bills, or adjusting land warrants, for small fees, or *truck*, for professional services, they saw in the distance, the prospect of becoming themselves the first men;—the bench and the bar, would then have an original jurisdiction—and attorney and solicitor-generalships, would be the reward of legislative spouting;—and a judgeship, or a governorship, to quiet old age and service. These notions were not chimeras—they were realities, and they have been realized. But there were chimeras, mixed up with those realized visions—there were many who dreamt of stars and garters, titles and coronets, and the partition of society into plebeians, and well-borns; the descendants of the *pilgrims*, had begun even to talk of their ancestors, and their venerable graves, as if they had come hither from Memphis, or the great cemetery of Thebes! The revolution had been scarcely completed, when this description of folks began to talk of hereditary places—or, as Dr. Franklin said, hereditary professorships of mathematics; some of them who had barely hung by the wheels of the revolution, at once contemplated in their glasses, the only source of legitimate legislation and power. It is not necessary to refer to *books* of that day, in which these facts might be cited, chapter and verse. The impressions of monarchy and hereditary legislators, found advocates in the very chamber in which the Constitution was discussed and digested; not, indeed, very much to the satisfaction of those self-designated princes and barons, but to their very great mortification and disappointment.

In the wonderful growth of the Union, the rapidity of its motion overwhelmed those worshippers of chimeras—the laws of primogeniture were to operate only on the future, the *then present* were concerned only for the present—dreamt on, and indulged in a discontent, of which they were not always conscious; they blindly adhered to their hereditary prejudices, and when under the infatuation of their violence, in conducting a free government upon arbitrary, intolerant, and military principles, they found themselves prostrated and divested of the power which they had so foolishly and wickedly abused; they rushed into such violence of revenge, as to make their condition worse; and what was worst of all to them, to find they had—

“Fallen, fallen, from their high estate,  
“Never to rise again!”

There is some history in this sketch, to trace the strange transactions of the proceedings in Boston, and the Hartford Convention, to their national sources; but it is still only a thread in the very ample web; it opens the mind's eye upon the springs of human action, and by reducing them to the scale of human fallibility, enables us to look on them with more composure.

The description of persons who had concern in the *opugnation* of Boston, was very much mixed, but the predominant force of the infidelity to the nation, and the laws, was composed of men of *disappointed ambition*; men who had *swelled themselves* up, and contributed to *swell* each other, into a consequence totally preposterous and absurd; their colonial importance had *died off*, and their egotism became utterly irreconcilable with the state of society, which had reached a solid growth, so much more ample than their imagined consequence. Power had de-



parted from them—and *revenge* upon their country was the remedy they sought, to mollify their grief.

Such is the true arcanum of eastern oppugnation. We shall not dwell on the desperate schemes which were knit into it, neither the scheme of a union with Canada, and a separation at the Hudson, nor Sir James Craig's overtures.

We have here in view, no more than to trace the clues of sedition and incipient treason, to its sources, in inordinate ambition, a blind lust of power, and a diabolical spirit of revenge.

Has not the reader already made the application? Do we not behold in this rapid sketch of eastern folly, a counterpart?

To what other causes can we ascribe the odious and ridiculous transactions designated under the title of *nullification*—an absurdity which has nothing absurd enough to illustrate it, but the common-place illusion of the man who cut off his nose to be revenged of his face!

What was the character of the proceedings in the Senate at the last session? Is it not the "*fruit off the same tree, leading to sin and death*;" inordinate, insatiable, desperate, and disappointed ambition. The transactions are too naked, too apparent, too reckless and extravagant, to render it necessary to go into a circumstantial analysis in this essay.

Our object was to invite our readers to reflect on the enviable position we hold, as a free people, on a blessed portion of this globe; possessing more of liberty, and less of the afflictions, which too often fall to the lot of man, in society, than in any other portion of this earth. Having it, and enjoying it, we must watch over it; vigilance is a cheap price for happiness; and let us above all watch and beware of men who lose all regard for reputation—who condemn the honest sense of their country, set aside constitution, honor and law, to satiate the revenge engendered by disappointed ambition.

### USURY.

Some *madcaps*, in Virginia, who are too wise for advice, and too proud for instruction, are stirring up the long agitated subject of *usury*, and putting forth an infinite quantity of *say-so's*, mere *say-so's*, nothing germane to the matter. We contemplate, according to a former intimation, at some suitable time, to give a synopsis of *political economy*, under the form of popular lectures, in which the subject of *money*, and the incidents of use and abuse, by which it has been perverted from its great purpose of sustaining *property*, promoting and regulating *commerce*, and rendering to genius and industry, the rewards which give spring to their labors and services for mankind. In that discussion, the subject of *usury*, shall receive a full and fair exposition; and such works as may fall in our way on the subject, shall have a fair analysis, and a manly argument; not a factious or pragmatic declamation; no dogmas, nor blind obedience to authorities, consecrated to prejudice or partial systems—but plain common sense, and matter of fact. By way of intimation of what we mean to argue at large, we give the following short note, written upon hearing of the *wordy rencontre*, concerning the universal war carried on by the rich against the poor. We do not exactly recollect who it was that referred to the war of *rich vs. poor*—we believe Mr. Wright, of New York, though it may be some other gentleman; however, it brought up the Senator from Massachusetts, who had \$42,000, discounted; "a fair business transaction."

This occurrence it was, which induced a momentary reflection on the nature of *money*; and the abuses to which it has been exposed by the perversion of the *banking system*. Thus we said, and so we now say, and shall say again.

The invention of *MONEY* was intended for all the purposes of *labor saving machinery*; to save the expense of

transporting commodities to a market, without the certainty of a sale, and to avoid the risks of no demand: to measure fixed property, so as to ascertain the relation in which one kind stood, as to appreciation, compared with another: to measure value in exchange, present or prospectively: and to serve as an universal equivalent for all transferable things. The fitness of the precious metals for money, was indicated by their *peculiar qualities*; and he who had money, could obtain whatever was desirable or acquirable, by transfer. Passing over other particulars, the matter as applied to the *spar* in the Senate; the experience of mankind has proved the general truth, that the rich, not contented with their riches, have universally manifested a disposition to make the poor more poor, and to ascribe to opulence alone the possession of virtue.

Among the practices of the world, in all ages, that of *engrossing* and *hoarding*, has characterised the rich; whereas, *money* was intended to facilitate the activity of exchanges, and the distribution of the productions of the earth, the seas, and the arts. Hoarding then became a public grievance—first, by affecting the circulation; second, by enhancing price against those who had little money, or acquired it by periodical labors; third, by enabling the idle rich to dictate prices for their labors; fourth, by holding the social institutions in a sort of dependence; and by drawing a line of discrimination between men, whom God had made equal.

Remonstrances with opulence, were in vain. "I stand upon my bond," said Shylock, "the *money* I hold is my *freehold*—it is my life; no man has a right to molest me, or my property."

So far so good, said the legislator, the property is yours—it is inviolable; you may melt the money into ingots, they are yours; you may send your money abroad, to obtain whatever you desire; no man can molest you, it is one of the uses of money—it is like water, perpetually seeking an equilibrium—it serves you as your horse, your wagon, your ship, or your steamboat—it saves you an infinity of labor, and produces you an infinity of good; but society coined the money for the public use; you may melt your money, and do as you please with it—but if you use *money* to a different use, and in a manner different from what society intended it, you violate law, you violate property. That property which you hold fixed or merchantable, you hold under the laws of society; and you must conform to those laws, or you shake not only the foundation of your own property, but that of every other proprietor.

Therefore, when society declares, that an ounce of gold shall contain so many pieces of money of a definite weight and denomination, and that this creation of a mark and bound for the measure of all property, is fixed, you Mr. *Ormoileu*, shall not alter the standard; you shall not say that the *ounce*, which is no more than an ounce at Potosi, and Birmingham, at Boston, and Bilbao; you shall not impose on your fellow citizens, and attempt to pass your ounce of gold, as an ounce and a quarter, or an ounce and a half; for that is *usury*—it is fraud, it assails the foundation of society.

But, says Mr. *Ormoileu*, I may set what price I please on my horse or my house.

And so you may, says the legislator; but your house, or your horse, having nothing to do with the common interests of society; horses are not coined for circulation, nor as measures of property; melt your gold, if you please, and sell it for as much as any one can give for it; but you must not *deface*, nor *debase*, nor *diminish*, the weight or value of the public measure of value.

Mr. *Ormoileu* insists that the money is his own, and nobody has a right to interfere with him in what he chooses to do with it.

But the legislator tells him again, society guarantees a standard—the permanency of the value of all property, depends on the permanency of that standard; and we say that an *ounce of pure gold* is an *eternal and invariable*

*quantity*, and that coins containing the quantities assigned by law, must be in society maintained at their rated value.

But, says Mr. *Ormoileu*, then I must give my money away, or lend it for nothing.

No! says the legislator; our laws are founded on wisdom and justice. You need not give your money without what you deem an equivalent; but if you *lend money*, it is to be used as *money*, and you must not debase it, nor enhance it as money, because by so doing, all other property is affected; the law for wise purposes has ordained, that he who lends, shall not suffer by his loan, nor the borrower, by his need. To prevent hoarding, and to encourage the active circulation of money, and to render to those who are opulent, but unable to labor, a compensation for the use of what they may lend, the law determines by a ratio, which fixes the *medium of profits*, on all transactions; that the *lender*, and he who *borrow*s, shall share the profits, share and share alike; so where profits are high as twenty-five per cent. the lender obtains twelve per cent. as it was in Rome, and is in some parts of India. Where the profits are twelve per cent, then the rate of interest shall be six per cent; but as some English usurer said, that five per cent. would command the commerce of the world, the English have fixed it at five per cent.

Such is the common sense of the use of money, and the moral of its reputation. And we see in the recent transactions of the Bank, what the *rich can do*, and will do, if not held in by the strong and vigorous curb of law.

The exacting more than the law prescribes, for *money*, amounts to a debasement to the extent of the *usury*; and hence it was, and is, that usury has been always odious and criminal. The rich engross and hoard, and deal out at usury, which is *putting a price* upon the standard in contempt of the law; that the law should maintain it inviolable, the security and permanency of the value of property demands.

Usury destroys the uniformity and the permanency of the standard of *money*, and compels the poor and the ingenious to labor for less than when the standard is respected. By *usury*, a rich idle man, rendering no earthly service to society or to himself, levies contributions on men whose labors sustain society, and constitute its health, strength, and power. Here is a predicament, from which all the sophistry of avarice cannot extricate itself. What avails it, to the man of genius or skill, that he devotes his life and time, to the public service; a man without genius, too generally without sympathy, or any other than a mere brutal appetite, holds the coin of the law, and by the mere virtue of possession, treats the man of talent, as if he were a mendicant.

By the invention of money, it was intended to accelerate exchanges with certainty of remuneration. There is no pretension to argument in favor of usury, but the general assumption of the right of property; yet property is wholly a creation of society, and stands upon exactly the same ground as money; you cannot violate a man's house, nor maim his horse, but they say you may violate the law which regulates and measures property, and you may, according to the usurers, *maim, cut off*, or deprive of a *limb*, the measure of all, and the invariable equivalent of all, property.

Since the above was written, we have read an extract in a Virginia paper, from an article entitled, *Professor Dew's Lectures on Usury*. Who the Professor is, or where he holds forth, we have yet to learn; but as to the extract, it has as much application to *usury*, or the laws of *usury*, as a dissertation on the *Jewsharp*; it is in fact, such a digression, as a rhetorician would slide into when in the heat of his declamation, he had totally lost sight of his subject, and was travelling "between *Dan and Bersheba*," seeking to discover the clues of his argument. We have the Empress Catharine, and Mr. Gallatin, Mr. McCulloch, and Lord Mansfield, and a never



ceasing squeezing in, of the *papier mache* affairs. We should like to see the *original*, though, in all probability, it is only Jeremy Bartram's blue bottle, colored a little in a new filtration.

#### PANAMA.

We see much said in the papers, about the Isthmus of Panama, and the information concerning it, given by Baron Humboldt, which was the report of others given to him—for he never was on the Isthmus of Panama; and yet all the writers who succeeded him, copied him, without knowing more of the matter. It is a fact, that the isthmus is not yet completely known; the writer of this article was in communication with an eminent house in London, on the subject, upon the basis of information perfectly authentic, and in consequence of the disposition of the London house, the writer of this article made a formal application to the government, at Bogota, soliciting in the first instance, authority and protection to carry on a trigonometrical survey, between the two seas, at the expense of the undertakers; and after making that survey, to commence opening a canal from sea to sea, which the proposers were ready to undertake and execute, upon the simple condition of a power to levy a small toll on ships passing through that canal.

This proposal was received, and deliberated upon; and we find in the new proclamation of President St. Ander, the same clauses which settled the question before; that is, That the contractors should pledge themselves, to do in two years, what would in a northern climate require six or seven years; and that before the applicants could begin a survey at their own expense, they must give *adequate securities* for the execution of the canal!

Men of experience may be at a loss to account for this incompetency of knowledge, in such men as at the period in question, composed the administration of Bogota. St. Ander, with the whole executive power: *Restrepo*, Minister of the Home Department, a man who resembled Jefferson, in science and republican virtues: *Gual*, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, a man of great knowledge, and who had spent several years in the United States; and *Castillo*, in the Treasury. Yet it was such men who were not aware of the immensity of the work proposed to be executed, and which might still be executed, with less difficulty than the Scotch canal, which unites the two Friths.

As our people are adventurous, and may deceive themselves by the plausibility of the new proclamation, we throw out these suggestions, not to discourage such an undertaking, which is perfectly practicable, by a line not exceeding fourteen miles, but to guard against expense, and too sanguine expectations.

As to the rail-road, it is a minor consideration, compared with a ship navigation, and which might have been in operation at this day, had the government at Bogota been duly acquainted with the importance or the expenses of such an undertaking. We shall give an article on the subject, at another day.

THE RIOTS.—Our city has been infected by the introduction of the *fanatical miasma*, which lately proved so deleterious in New York. We have had no conflicts between *colonialists* or *amalgamationists*—but some of the fugitives from New York, with the blindness of ignorance and mistaken zeal, prevailed upon the *sympathies* of some of their colored brethren here. On Monday afternoon, in front of a place of exhibition, of what are called *flying horses*, several passengers of both sexes, passing, were pointed at wantonly and insultingly, as *Yorkers*; a brief scuffle terminated this day's affair;—but several respectable females having been so insulted, the rumour spread, and the disorder of Tuesday followed.

Our city, in the southern quarter, was disturbed on Tuesday evening by an *imitation riot*. It seems some of

the colored people implicated in the New York disturbance, had fled to our *city of refuge*; and, exercising the freedom of speech, which prevails in Philadelphia perhaps in a greater degree than any where else, those folks rather exceeded the usual license, and some quarrels grew out of it—at length an affray—and, finally, a riot, so serious as that several have been maimed, and, it is said, some lives lost.

We saw a dense mass of young persons, from 14 to 20 years of age, pass, at twilight on Tuesday, to the open lots near the Hospital, whence it seems they proceeded to a house in South near Seventh Street, which was demolished. We looked about for our police—but could find none—nor any one who could tell where to find them.

The *scarcity* of police officers, at the riot, must be ascribed to no want of zeal on the part of the police-men; but the contrary, for, while the riot was going on in South Street, the police-men were employed on the *service* for which they were *enlisted*—in the *taverns electioneering*!

The *imitation* riot was renewed on Wednesday evening, much in the same way as on Tuesday. Much mischief was done—and as is too constantly the effect of public disorders, the sufferers were people wholly innocent. There was on Thursday night a similar assemblage;—all in the southern quarter. The angry passions appear to have somewhat abated; but the sources of these evils require to be probed—and greater evils averted.

As the private domicile is now exposed to the violence of *fanatics* in hostility, would it not be as well to publish the names and residences of the police officers, so that on an emergency the people may know where to seek protection. At present we know about as much of the *names* and *residences* of the *police of Philadelphia*, as of the *chokeydars* of Calcutta or the *shirri* of Rome.

In our social primary meetings of the people, throughout Pennsylvania, we do not recollect to have witnessed so much free action and concord, on public questions, as at the present time. One spirit every where pervades the State; and those little scattering detachments, which formed into minor parties, to sustain some partial interest or favorite, no longer appear,—and never did we see a better temper to overlook little bickerings: but what is the *cause* of this happy unanimity? Every man can answer—it is the *defiance and menaces of the Bank*—the alarming *influence* which that monopoly has obtained over the *United States Senate*. The *panic* has produced a conviction of danger.

The Federalists, in the South, are following up the reiteration of their oft refuted lie; they have, however, added another *new one*—spick and span new. One of these papers (South) says, that an *association* was formed of some *twenty* persons (more or less) in Philadelphia,—and for what purpose? Why, they associated to oppose the *British Treaty*! This was in 1794, and, with the usual chronological accuracy and indifference to detection, they make W. D. one of that association. In 1794, and up to the 27th of December of that year, W. D. was the editor and sole proprietor of the popular paper called the "*INDIAN WORLD*." Yet these fellows associate the name of General WASHINGTON with their clumsy lies, and pretend to be honest men!

¶ We are constrained to urge, by way of general notice and apology, to our brethren of the *type*, that it is utterly impossible to *exchange with all* who have requested it; the claims of this kind, already exceed our actual subscription! When our list shall have obtained its *maximum*, and it is *going ahead* wonderfully, we shall then be able to *regulate the issues*, in accordance with the *capital vested*; until then, the *will* must be accepted for the deed.

We give a spirited sketch of the singular conversation which arose on the *Irish Coercion Bill*, between Mr. O'Connell, and the *Irish Secretary Littleton*, on the 3d of July. The strongest characteristic of this transaction, is the recognized influence, and weight of Mr. O'Connell, in the very opinion of the government itself. The next point of moment is the littleness of the administration, in resorting to so paltry a deception, for the mere purpose of *carrying an election*! The *Whig* ministry is as mean as our *Bank faction*;—no deception or falsehood is too gross for their countenance. O'Connell never appeared, as a man, a statesman, or a patriot, to more advantage, than on that occasion; well might O'Connell say, Littleton had no other resort than to resign—but Littleton had not such very nice feelings, as not to put up with the affront.

We give, to-day, two English documents of an ecclesiastical bearing. Fanaticism on one hand, and reformation on the other, characterize the present times, in our own as well as in the old world. Religion, as the spring of charity and love of our neighbor, has been entirely superseded by the desire of power—worldly power, and worldly money. Instead of the meekness and benevolence inculcated by the Christian system, in the British dominions they lust for principalities, and levy upon those who dissent from *legal orthodoxy*, a tithe for the maintenance of lordly estates and *unfisherman-like* dignities. They boast of *freedom*, and immense bodies of the British people are compelled to pay for a church establishment with which they cannot concur, and from which they not only derive no benefit, but to sustain which millions are divested of their rights of property, freedom of conscience, and of the access to honorable professions.

A Christian of the Calvinistic sects, or of the Wesleyan or Quaker sects, cannot, in England, obtain a qualification to practice medicine. In countries where the superstition of college institutions retain the harsh and intolerant features of the most barbarous times, such as the English represent the nations on the Continent to be, the access to professional honors is not shut out; but in England the barbarism remains, and hence the physicians of England are under the necessity of obtaining their diplomas at Leyden, or at Edinburgh.

The spirit of *innovation* is up—and those who would consign mankind to ignorance, and organize a despotic control of *mind, conscience, and purse*, are alarmed. In Ireland the case works towards a redress; but the struggle between the *holders* of the "*three barley loaves and two small fish*" and the reformers is very ardent, and carried on with fear and trembling.

It is because the contest is likely to endure, and is pregnant with other consequences, that we put those documents upon our record, as part of a history which has its influence upon the whole civilized world.

The arrival of the packet ship *President* at New York, puts us in possession of news to the 5th of July from London and Liverpool.

The *Irish Coercion Bill* had been brought into parliament for renewal, with an omission of the clause which substituted *military courts martial* for trial by jury.

The editor of the *London Morning Post* was brought up before the House of Lords for a libel on the Chancellor, and dismissed upon paying the *fees of arrest*,—equal to £100 sterling.

It was believed that the article for which the editor (Pendleton) was arrested, had been written by Lord *Ellenborough*; the editor being questioned if the article was not written by a *Peer*, refused to answer.

According to the *Lausanne Gazette*, the English policy intends *Malta* as the future residence of Don Miguel, of Braganza.



A dispute subsists between some of the German States and the Swiss. The particular causes we have not been able to inform ourselves upon; but there appears to be a mixed case of commerce and politics. We shall be able to scan them by and bye.

In the Spanish ministry a change has taken place. Don Joze Imaz having retired, his place is supplied by Count Torreno, very memorable for his public conduct at the period of the Cortez, and his consequent exile. His family names are *José Maria Quiço de Llana*.

Count Torreno has appointed to the under-secretaryship of the Finances, Senor Yrarte, well known as Intendant-general of the Finances at Cuba.

His holiness, the Pope, has abandoned his hostility to the Portuguese revolution, since it has proved successful. He has sent a special legate, who assents to every thing; and the suppression of convents and monasteries has been already accomplished in Estramadura, and in Entre Douro et Minho.

## UTILITY.

### COTTON.

In presenting a politico-historical sketch of this staple article of national riches, we may once for all explain the practice we mean to pursue, and the motives of that practice. In discussing any useful topic, as our paper will pass under the eye of all classes, we shall endeavor to adopt our discussion to the state of knowledge among all; so, that those who happen not to be acquainted with a subject, may obtain some clear and precise knowledge; and if we can, to afford such knowledge as may be new or useful even to the best informed, or at least revive knowledge, which may have been before acquired and lain dormant.

In undertaking to present a sketch of cotton, we were surprised to find less clear and less ample information in books than we had acquired from actual observation in different parts of the globe; what is given in the very best modern works is surprisingly defective, and contradictory.

There are more than fifty different species of cotton, comprehending a creeper which produces a beautiful white fleece, some forty species of herbaceous plants; some of which are triennial, and we learned from an intelligent inhabitant of Choco in Columbia, that there was a species cultivated in the warm valleys of that moist province, which may be called quaternial, the mode of cultivation indicating its character. It is planted from suckers in wet weather, and in April duly prepared; the plas or patches being measured and lined out, they throw forth shoots with defective pods in three months, and full pods at the end of the year; as soon as the first plot or patch blossoms, another quadrangle is laid out and lined off, and so successively, four; when the first patch affords its abundant harvest; and by the time the first patch has flourished four years, a new series of patches are laid off, the plant is thus constantly propagated in rotation.

There are two great distinctive characters of the cotton plant, viz.

South America from those of Asia, Africa, and North America. That in the former, with rare exceptions, the cotton plant is a beautiful and lofty tree, from 10 to 60 feet elevation, in perpetual bloom, and yields a fine fleece all the year round, though it presents a more abundant harvest in the latter end of September and October. These remarks apply to all the cotton of Cunana, Venezuela, and the whole warm range of the valleys of the Andes from Guatemala to Chili, and from Peru to Pernambuco; the same plant flourishes in Celebes, Sumatra, Java, Malacca, &c.

In China and some parts of Hindustan they have the cotton tree, it is not an object of cultivation for its produce, but as an ornament, and certainly it rivals our apples and peach orchards in the brilliancy and richness of blossoms, and the gravity of its verdant foliage. In Asia, from the Burrampooter to the mouth of the Indus the cotton commerce is derived from the annual plant, some small quantity from the triennial in Guzerat.

It is not surprising that Linnaeus should furnish only three species of the *Gossypium*, which is the classic name of the cotton plant; commerce had not in his time elevated cotton to that consequence which it has since obtained.

Other treatises on Botany extend the list to some 7 or 8 species. Those of Linnaeus, are.

1. *Gossypium herosaceum*—which is the plant most common in all countries but South America.

2. *G. Barbadosense*—from Barbadoes. This species varies from the preceding in its external forms, in that the centre lobe of the

leaf is larger, and it is the whitest, most silky and esteemed, and is that which is principally cultivated in the United States, and in Guzerat. Besides there are—

3. *G. Arboreum*—which we presume, indicates the plant that becomes a lofty and flourishing fruit tree, and is found wild in various parts of the Andes. It grows to the height of 10 to 60 feet and higher; its stem is a woody fibre, downy and furnished with short branches. Its leaves are five-lobed, short, broad, roundish, terminating in a point growing upon heavy foot stalks, which support the fruit.

4. *Gossypium Indicum*—which attains ten or twelve feet high, it is indigenous to India.

5. *G. Micranthum*—grows on a reddish stalk to 18 inches; this is peculiar to Persia and part of Arabia.

6. *G. Vitifolium* is that which is usually known as *Bourbon* cotton, which flourishes in Mauritius also, and in the Celebes, and in some parts of Brazil. The leaves are palmated, divided into five oval lanceolate lobes, very sharp, smooth above, beneath downy.

7. *G. Religiosum*. This shrub rises to 3 or 4 feet, and is found at the Cape of Good Hope, and at Madagascar. The fleece is fine and white but adheres too tenaciously to the seed.

8. *G. Latifolium*, differs but little from the *Vitifolium*, and inhabits the West Indies.

9. *G. Peruvianum*, grows three feet with strait stems of a green ashy color.

We have here no specification or clue to the species of Egypt or Macedonia, which enter very much into the commerce of the Levant. Indeed the accounts we have are very imperfect, and in the general enumeration defective and confused, and the properties of one confounded with the other.

We therefore omit the technical descriptions, and as our purpose is more political than agricultural, we do not enter upon the modes of culture specially, barely observing that some errors have prevailed of a theoretical kind, which assigned to the climate beneath the equator, the finest cotton, and the coarsest proportionally as it passed to and beyond the tropics. But all experience has contradicted this error, since the finest cotton is that of the Georgia sea islands in lat. 30° 42' North; and next in fineness that of Bourbon, in lat. 20° 52' South.

Cotton requires a warm sun, and the herbaceous plants flourish best in a rich black soil, as in Guzerat and on the Mississippi; on dry arid shores as on some districts at the mouth of the Indus, and in Macedonia, the plant thrives on a sandy soil, but the staple is coarse and short.

The arborescent, or that which forms a lofty and a beautiful tree, we have seen growing in the clefts of the rudest rocks, with the scanty soil which accumulated between them, and where no culture would take place, as in Merida, Venezuela, and on the Magdalena opposite Honda in the beautiful vales of Venezuela and the abrupt fissures of Guatemala.

Of its history in commerce it is found among the enumerated commodities in the intercourse of China with India and Ceylon, before Sidon, Tyre, or Babylon, and lost like the unknown origin of arithmetic, alphabetic writing, and money in the immeasurable night of time.

Europe derived cotton and its consequents from Asia, and all Asia from Hindustan, whence it was in early ages, as it is now an article of commercial transport to China, and the countless islands of the eastern Archipelago. Though the plant is indigenous to America, its birth place must have been within the tropics, or in those warm valleys where the temperature is always tropical, though north or south of either. We derive it circuitously from Europe, and the native American plant has risen upon the experience of its precursor in commerce and culture.

The extension of the cotton for garments to Europe is comparatively modern. Its first appearance was in homely and coarse fabrics, such as the *pardaks* or screens of Turkey and Asia Minor, the hangings and house furniture of eastern nations; subsequently in the beautifully tinted ornamental furniture of India and the Levant; and in coarse garments for the laborers of Asia Minor, Greece, and lower Italy, where it was introduced by the proud commercial republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa.

But in Bengal there is no historical memorial in which it does not hold its long established place as at the present day, and ages before arts or refinement had found a home in any portion of Europe. Then as now, it became a characteristic of human vanity, which leads to the record of many curious facts; in Bengal to be distinguished by the *transparency of the cotton garment*, was common to all ranks; it was a passion; eminence was not measured by the strength of the arm nor the lustre of the eye, but by the *fineness* of the web which composed the body apparel of males and females, and super-excellence was determined by the number of webs worn one over the other, through which the color of the complexion could be discovered; seven garments was the great criterion of eminence, and so it continues to be to this day. Another criterion of pride was the possession of a web so fine as to pass through the finger ring of a delicate female. The

stories of this criterion of eminence very much resemble those of the thousand and one nights; and render the cable passing through the eye of a needle no paradox.

The cotton plants of India in common cultivation, are the herbaceous and annuals, with some triennials. In the countries between Agra and Calcutta, and on the Coromandel shores, and the Malabar coast as far as the Gulf of Persia, we have never seen there, the tree on which cotton grows; though we have seen them in every direction in Colombia from Caraccas to Cucuta and along the banks of the most splendid of beautiful rivers the Magdalena, where it every where delights the eye.

We shall now proceed to state our inducement to the notice of cotton, it is the rivalry which threatens to affect that great staple of our country, consequent on the policy which has opened Hindustan to European settlers and experience, and the powerful and effective activity already operating in that rich and all abounding section of the globe.

In Bengal the webs of Dacca and other districts have been known to commerce ever since the British power obtained the ascendancy there; the conquests from the Mahrattas at a more recent period have rounded off their dominion, and embraced all the cotton countries which enriched Surat and constituted Barygaza a depot more than twelve centuries ago, comprehending all Guzerat and the territories east of the Indus; these countries are under the authority of the Bombay government, and much of the information which we shall present to our readers on this part of the subject, we derive from a man of just and high renown as a warrior, but much more eminent as a statesman, that is Sir John Malcolm some years at the head of the Bombay Government, and in a work published by him in the last year, entitled—"The Government of India."

From some parts of India the taste for those fine webs, and the infinite variety of forms and exquisite tints, and the art of weaving and printing, have been carried to Europe and thence came what were in former times comprehended under the name of *calicoes*, i. e. coming from Calicut on the Malabar coast, and from plantations which enrich the ever irrigated plains of Dacca, and those which are watered by the Kistnah on the Coromandel coast were derived. Those latter places continuing to be celebrated for their fine dyes, and broad pieces, adapted for bed-spreads; and all the beautiful variety of Romals, scarfs, and charconnahs of colored forms.

The cotton plants of India generally, are the herbaceous annuals, varying in their qualities of length, strength, and fineness, from some unknown law of nature. A French writer some years since, undertook to reduce their varieties of quality to climate, making the finest fibre to be the produce nearest the equator, and to become coarse and short as the plant receded from that line north or south; better experience contradicts this theory.

The newly acquired provinces under the Bombay government, are highly favorable to the cotton cultivation; though the varieties are few, great pains have been bestowed in procuring the seed of the best qualities from all parts of the world. The native cotton of Guzerat, approaches very near to Bourbon and Georgia in fineness; others of the same countries resemble our Georgia Uplands, and are susceptible of much improvement, by more care and skill in the cultivation, in the picking, cleaning, packing, and preservation from inclement weather, objects upon which the British policy has been very actively employed since the last American war; and which promises now to be greatly accelerated by that change in which the colonial policy of England, which has opened the country to European settlers. Those cottons owing to the want of care in the preserving and packing, have been the lowest in price of any in the British market; the proverbial energy of the English settlers will very soon obviate this exception, and the result will be a much greater quantity and a better price for that species.

The cotton produced near Madras is consumed in the factories of the Coromandel coast, in long cloths, and a variety of *romals* and bed spreads, they do not aspire to make the finer articles and the production is not always equal to the local demand. There are fields of cotton from the Bourbon seed, which find their way to the looms of Bengal.

The Island of Bourbon affords a peculiar species of cotton plant; it is next in beauty, excellence, and estimation to our sea island; but the quantity is limited, and it usually finds its market at Bordeaux.

The cotton of Macedonia is fully described by Beaujour, in his work on the Levant. It is adapted to coarse uses.

In Egypt, great exertions have been made by Mohamed Ali to establish the cotton cultivation upon the best principles; his system is, however, that of monopoly, for which perhaps a knowledge of the habits of his subjects may exonerate him from the reproach of such selfish and partial systems. He has shipped largely, but had rather abated, from the prices falling short of his anticipations.

The cotton of other parts of Africa, have not found their way in any noticeable amount in the markets of Europe; they go into



the domestic fabrics of the Barbary coast, and sometimes into Arabia.

America promises to rival Asia in quantity, as it already does in quality, and holds a vast space, comprehending the whole surface between 31 south and 32 north latitude, that is, in the low warm vallies of the Andes on the west and east coasts. In Brazil and Peru, Venezuela and Choco, the vallies of Merida and the banks of the Magdalena, and the cotton tree forming lofty hedges even within pistol shot of Carthagena.

Panama, Guatemala, Mexico, Louisiana, the Floridas, Georgia, and South Carolina, abound with cotton: Pernambuco and Maranh in Brazil, produce a long strong staple; Bahia and Rio, the latter a darker color.

Cayenne, Demarara, yield a cotton of good quality, of a fine silky fibre.

Cotton has not obtained as much attention in Caraccas as coffee, cocoa, and tobacco, but the climate is highly favorable, though the great sacrifice of population in the revolution will long retard cultivation in all parts of Venezuela.

The cotton most predominant in the whole range, from east to west of the Cordilleras, to Guayaquil and the Atrato, is the forest tree cotton, the tree is lofty in favorable climates, and though there is a season, about October, in which the crop is more abundant, the plant is in perpetual blossom, and affords every day in the year a supply.

It requires no culture, and in the valley, of Merida it springs up among the crevices of sharp rocks of a volcanic appearance, along the whole route from Caraccas to Bogota, unless where the elevation forbids almost any vegetation, the cotton tree forms a beautiful ornament to the Indian, or to the more civilized cottage, and affords delicate and constant employment for the young females, who display great dexterity in handling it, clearing it with their fingers, performing those operations of cleaning, which are done by machinery with us. The banks of the Magdalena from Honda to Carthagena, exhibit whole avenues of the cotton tree; and the hedges which mark the road between Turbaco and Carthagena, are whitened by the blossom, left to burst, unpicked, and casting its fibres like gossamer on the breeze.

The islands of the West Indies, Margareta, Trinidad, Barbadoes, have a strong cotton; it is of the vegetable species; and Hayti under the French produced cotton of a good quality, whether it yields any now or not, we are not informed.

A French writer, besides some fanciful ideas in relation to climate, makes the following classification, giving place according to the presumed excellence and higher price.

Sea Island, Georgia,	Bahama,	Carthagena,
Bourbon,	N. Orleans,	Surat,
Pernambuca,	Georgia Uplands,	Bengal,
Surinam,	S. Carolina,	Madras.

This classification is not fairly comparative, and is only given as a sort of review of opinions.

The main purpose of our introduction of this subject, is with a view to precaution many of our southern planters. Carolina, once produced the finest indigo in the world, superseding that of the Levant in the factories of Europe. Guatemala under an enterprising Spanish minister, became the rival of Carolina, and carried off the prize, as Bengal has since done through the enterprise of the French at Chandernagore, whose example and practice has made the indigo of Bengal the preferred of all the world.

Carolina also once furnished the best cochineal; Guatemala and S. Eastern Mexico has engrossed that rich product; but have found a rival on the Coromandel coast, where the celebrated Dr. Anderson labored for twenty years to establish it, and at length succeeded, after repeated failures, to introduce the insect from Guatemala, for which he had prepared Napaulries, or plants of the prickly pear.

In February 1829, the Directors of the East India Company directed an experimental plantation to be established at its expense, with the unreserved purpose of rendering Great Britain independent of foreign countries for the raw material upon which her most valuable manufactures depend; and not only was one farm under the Bombay government at Baroach, but several others in different districts established in the acquisitions made from the Mahrattahs, and in the Decan. A special experiment was also set on foot under a Dr. Lush, at the gardens of Dooraporee, which was confined to the cultivation of the peculiar cotton of the Isle of Bourbon, and public notice was given, that for the promotion of cotton plantations Europeans would be allowed to hold lands on a leasehold tenure.

The sole objects of those farms in the northern and southern dependencies of Bombay, were declaredly to make experiments on the different kinds of cotton seed, and to instruct the natives in the planting and cleaning, so as to render it more adapted to the English market, in which it has no rival but the American, Brazilian, and Egyptian.

Surat cotton is of the species termed herbaceous, and is an annual. It is usually denominated Guzzerat, from the various places

in that province which produces it; it is preferred to call it Surat. The quality of this cotton in the pod is acknowledged to be nearly equal to the American uplands; but has been hitherto so unskillfully cultivated, and carelessly gathered and kept before removal for a market, as to suffer extreme depreciation, and has been so frequently carried to England with seeds, leaves, and sand, as to sink its reputation with the manufacturer.

It is sown in all June by a rude drill, and the first picking of the pods, which is always the best, is in January, and repeated three times, after an interval of three weeks each time. It is liable to injury from rain, drought, and cold; and the failure of dews in November and December diminishes the produce a third. Yet when the soil is good, the expense and labor are so very small, that the landholders must find it highly beneficial. The first picking is technically called *toomil*, and is usually appropriated for the English market.

As the pickings are at intervals, the last usually takes place in April, and the shortness of the period for packing and shipping to Bombay to escape the Monsoon, is found to be a serious difficulty; for much of the crop is obliged to be kept in Guzzerat to be shipped at the next season, and as there is no habitual mode of superintending and preserving it, and the article is itself so cheap, that it suffers even when it escapes the incidents of weather.

A survey was made of the cotton districts of Baroach and Jumboosier to ascertain the cost of cultivation, and it was found to cost 45 rupees per *bar* or load, which is equal to 940 seer; and the seer of Baroach is one fifth of an ounce heavier than a pound avoirdupois. It, however, rose to 70 rupees, when carefully handled, and became a primary object of cultivation.

By another calculation in another contiguous plantation, the Baroach candy of 854 lbs. of clean merchantable cotton, it measured 8½ biggahs, or 21,680 yards of land, which at 4 rupees the biggah of 2477 yards, amounts to 35 rupees per 8½ biggahs. The cost of transit duties to the place of export on the candy was 2½ rupees, or 66 reas, and charges for packing &c, 7½ rupees. The hire of the laborers in these cotton districts, including every thing, amount to 30 rupees, or \$15 per annum.

Free labour could not be more moderate, and yet in such a luxurious country the laborers are abundant, whose subsistence is so simple that to them the wages are satisfactory.

It may be proper here to notice a triennial cotton plant, which is cultivated on a sandy soil in Guzzerat, to the northward of Mye.

It does not take the blue dye so well as the annual plant, and from this and other causes is a secondary object, and receives little attention. But it is otherwise with the annual plant in the rich districts of Baroach and Jumboosier, where the crop of cotton is of the greatest importance, and its culture, though not equal to that of America, is becoming so. Cotton has been usually sown with grain, but oftener without, as it exhausts the soil too much, so that a cotton crop is seldom taken in three years on the same land. But on the experimental farm at Baroach, *chinna*, a species of grain which enriches the soil, is alternately sown, and the ground never left fallow.

In the official letter of the Court of Directors it is stated, that during the last American war, great pains were taken to obtain cotton from India, and the Bombay merchants expended large sums in selecting and cleaning cotton for the English market, but no proportional profit followed. On the contrary, the inferior cottons proved the most profitable, owing to its being cheaper and adapted to be mixed with finer cotton, which the Manchester spinners said was in fibre and quality sufficiently good to compete with the American.

The zeal manifested, and the knowledge evident in the discussions which concern the promotion of the cotton cultivation in India, merit particular regard; and the improved cultivation and practice of preserving, are minutely referred to as objects of imitation. They have discovered some of the causes which injure the Surat cotton. Soon after the first picking the heat is apt to destroy the vegetable moisture, and the leaves are scattered with the slightest touch, which in their brittle state mix with the cotton; for this the remedy is an alteration in the mode of planting; for although the seed is planted in rows, they are too close, and thus the leaves intermingle. In America they plant the seed in rows sufficiently distant to enable the laborer to walk between, without touching any thing but the pods they pick. As there is no want of land in India, this plan will be adopted.

When the English came into possession of Baroach in 1805, cotton was received in payment of the revenue, and measures were on that account adopted to render the cleaning more complete. The crop was divided into three classes, and a price remunerating with a premium for the best produce, was held forth to the cultivator and gatherers; and the price rose upon this improvement, and the demand from England followed. There had been shipments before to England, but it was not till 1817, it became a regular trade, it had commenced with China long before. In 1789 the East India Company sent thither 120,000 bales.

Some causes of a local kind arrested the progress of this system. But such was the effect of the improvements, from 25 bales, in 1832 the increase of Surat cotton amounted to 95,288 bales; but an advance equal to 50 per cent in China, drew off the cotton to that market, which had been destined for England.

The following table will show the increase of the English consumption, export, and stock on hand for eight years.

	Home Consumption.	Export.	Stock on hand.
	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.
1825	32,000	11,860	49,300
1826	22,850	26,500	44,400
1827	25,340	25,700	46,390
1828	31,900	33,400	60,290
1829	34,130	44,100	57,790
1830	43,310	17,900	28,640
1831	32,180	31,940	30,210
1832	40,470	24,900	48,370

The following table will show the increased export of cotton of Surat to the continent of Europe in three years.

	222,659	219,784	267,180
American bales,			
W. India and Brazil,	62,120	44,048	43,945
Egyptian,	52,317	86,925	85,912
East India,	22,676	31,051	39,519
Other sorts,	21,379	13,902	19,388
Bales,	385,341	411,616	490,579

In a recent work we find some details of a series of experiments on cotton, made in the island of Tobago, with seed from Barbadoes, which are merely curious. In the course of which there were discovered some new species, to one of which was given the name *Bull head*, from the shape of its pods; another variety was named *Guava* cotton, the pods of which were large 110 weighing a pound, and from one tree was collected four pounds and a half of cotton, 140 pods making up the pound.

Another kind was called *silk cotton*, another *vine cotton*, and a third roadback. Of the silk cotton, there were discriminated 20 different kinds, fine quality and long staple. The varieties of vine cotton is also found numerous, as many as forty or fifty, but these appear to belong to the class *Gossypium Vitifolium*.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

## BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

### LORD'S DAY OBSERVANCE BILL.

April 30, 1834.

Sir A. AGNEW presented many petitions in favor of a better observance of the sabbath; numerous petitions against the Lord's day observance bill were presented by other members. After which Sir A. AGNEW moved, that the bill should be read a second time.—Sir O. MOSELEY seconded the motion.

Mr. E. L. BULWER moved, that the bill be read a second time that day six months. He believed its effect would be, to bring the Lord's day into almost universal disregard. It would bring religion itself into disrepute, by showing how gloomy and tyrannical a thing it might be made. He then pointed out the unequal operation of the proposed bill upon the rich and the poor; showing that, by its artful exemptions, the wealthy sabbath-breaker would be suffered to remain unmolested. The present laws for the protection of the Sabbath were inoperative, by reason of their severity. Laws became impracticable when they were not suitable to the temper of the age—when they were couched in a puritanical, instead of the mild and genial spirit of Christianity, which now happily prevailed. The bill excepted domestic servants from the range of its provisions, and here it had paid no attention either to the comfort or the conscience of one class of persons, at least; they were sacrificed to the supposed comfort and advantage of a less numerous class of persons—their rich masters. The hon. member proposed to shut up the news-room and the tea-gardens; but who were to prevent the parties who might wish to break through the enactment? The constable and the police, he supposed; but were their souls less valuable in the eyes of the hon. member? But the club-room was to be left open. It was on this principle that men—

"Compound for sins they are inclined to,  
By damning those they have a mind to."

He maintained that the sabbath was now better kept by the middle classes in this country, than it had ever been at any preceding period; and in proof of this, he quoted the authority of the hon. baronet's own committee. If the poor were not as attentive to their moral and religious duties as might be wished, it proceeded, in no small degree, from the bad example set them by the rich.

Mr. Bulwer was well supported by Mr. Potter, Mr. Poulter, and Mr. Roebuck, and the rout of the Pharisees was completed by Mr. O'Connell, in a spirited and argumentative speech.

The following is a passage in Mr. Potter's speech, proceeding on his own experience, and the divine principle, "Do as you would be done by."

The penal enactments of this bill affect chiefly the middle and laboring classes; the rich man, who has servants, carriages, horses, and pleasure boats, can use them if he pleases on the sabbath; he can go to Richmond, Hampton Court, Windsor, Box Hill, or any of the places near this great town; but the man who does not possess those luxuries, and wishes, on the only day he can leave his business, to visit, during the spring and summer months, the beautiful scenery of the places I have mentioned, is



absolutely prevented from so doing, for he would not be able to hire a horse, carriage, or boat, or even to use a stage-coach.

The humbler citizen does not go so far from home on Sundays, but if he wishes to repair to Greenwich, Hamstead, or any of the villages near London, he needs a conveyance, and for sixpence he may be gratified; but, by the 9th, 10th, and 12th clauses of this bill, he will be prevented, and must walk through crowded streets and dusty roads to obtain a little fresh air, and will thus be prevented from beholding the beautiful green face of the earth, the lofty and majestic trees, and the shining hills and valleys, the bare contemplation of which is enough to direct his thoughts to the gracious and bountiful creator, and this, too, on the only day he can be absent from work. In large towns, and this great city in particular, numbers of young men are employed during the week-days in warehouses, shops, factories, and workshops, many of which are in the dense and ill-ventilated part of the town, and many of them are obliged to attend until late on Saturday evening; many females are, during the week, closely confined in sewing; domestic servants can only get out on the Sunday; but if this bill receive the sanction of parliament, how severely will persons so situated suffer! I know the hardships and privations young men endure who, during the week, are closely confined; for, when a young man, I was for some years engaged in a shop, and afterwards in a warehouse, in the towns of Birmingham and Manchester; my companions and I, from Monday morning until Saturday night, seldom or ever had opportunity, or liberty, to take a walk, and at this distance of time well do I remember the delight we felt at the return of Sunday, when we made little excursions, on horseback, or in gigs, to the neighboring villages, there rambling through Shenstone's walks, Hagley Park, in the green lanes, or by the side of some brook, and this, too, was very frequently compatible with the observance of the sabbath, for we often attended a country church; but had this bill been in force how greatly would our innocent enjoyments have been curtailed! I have referred to a period of nearly forty years ago; thousands of young people need similar relaxation; and I will be no party to interfere with, or take away their necessary recreation, which I feel convinced would be the case if this bill passes.

The affluent can, in the afternoon of Sunday, meet at the social table, and partake of excellent food; but the laborer, who frequently is absent from his family on the week days, or leaves his home early, with his dinner in his pocket, surely ought to have a hot and comfortable dinner on the Sunday; but by this Bill the public bakehouse is to be closed; his wife has no convenience to cook; the husband is thus prevented sitting down with his family to a hot dinner; he becomes discontented, which often leads him into vicious and drinking company. Baking on the Sunday morning, for the benefit of the poor man, is prohibited; but, in the exception clause, bakers are allowed on Sunday afternoons "to set and superintend the sponge," as it is called, which requires considerable time and attention. First, the flour must be sifted, then setting the ferment, and afterwards mixing the flour and water, which is called setting the sponge; after which the dough must be made, which, altogether, occupies nearly the whole of Sunday afternoon. And why has this been permitted? Why, that the rich and luxurious may have new bread on Monday morning; so that the poor man must have a cold, uncomfortable dinner, that the Sabbath may be kept; but it may be broken for the purpose of pandering to the appetites of the lovers of new bread. This is another instance of the operation of the hon. baronet's bill, which, as I before stated, affects principally the middle and working class. I feel convinced that the public bakehouse cannot be closed on Sunday morning without seriously affecting the comforts of great numbers of the working class. I have made many inquiries, not only in London, but at Manchester, during the recess. In those parts of large towns inhabited by the humbler classes, few bakers cook less than fifty or sixty dinners; many a much greater number. I know bakers who, in spring and autumn, cook on Sundays 100 dishes, each of which furnishes an excellent dinner for a family; the charge in London is generally twopence; in the country one penny or three halfpence. The whole process is over by one o'clock, and the journeymen, unless detained in "setting and superintending the sponge," are at liberty during the remainder of the day.

Mr. POTTER denounced the bill, as interfering with the innocent recreations of the poor; while it pandered to the more luxurious enjoyments of the rich.—

Mr. POULTER and Mr. HALL also opposed the bill.—

Mr. ROXBURGH asked, would the hon. baronet's bill induce men to look upon the Lord as a beneficent, mild, and good being—loving gladness of the heart? or would it not rather make them picture him as a gloomy and terrible God, one delighting in mortification! ("Hear," and "No.")

The hon. baronet had "no" upon his tongue, but "yes" in his bill and in his heart. (Hear, hear.)

Why did not the hon. baronet commence by putting down all the pastimes and pleasures of the rich? Why did the apostles of humanity begin suppressing the pleasures of the poor? He believed this measure to be a branch of religious persecutions. If the principle was once admitted, it would justify an act of intolerance. The Christian Sabbath was not believed to be a portion of Christianity; the Archbishop of Dublin (Wheatley) had even written a book to prove the contrary. He contended, that the bill of the hon. baronet would make hypocrites of the whole of the people of England. It would, by preventing the people from enjoying proper recreations, drive them to become drunkards. He gave the hon. baronet every credit for good intentions—"but hell was paved with good intentions." The bill would destroy the only hope of the working people of this country to enjoy one day of recreation. The hon. member then alluded to the ill effects, of this bill in respect to travelling. It would increase the expense of travelling, and make idlers of all those whose duty it was to attend upon stage coaches. The house would also recollect, that a great portion of animal food was brought up to

town on Sunday. The prevention of this food being brought up on Sunday, would have the effect of greatly augmenting the price of food to the poor. He would oppose the bill in every stage; and if it should go into committee, he would commence his opposition to it in committee, by moving, that every nobleman's and gentleman's carriage should be prevented from going out on the Sunday (hear,) and every livery and other servant from going out on that day.—

Earl GROSVENOR thought that some legislation was required upon the subject; but was entirely opposed to this measure.—

Mr. HALCOMB, Lord MORPETH, Mr. WILKS, Mr. PLUMPTRE, Mr. GOULBORN, and Mr. SINCLAIR were for sending the bill into a committee up stairs, where it might be made a little more reasonable.—

Mr. GIBBORNE, Col. EVANS, Mr. M. PHILLIPS, Mr. WYNNE, Sir R. FERGUSON, Mr. RONAYNE, Lord G. SOMERSET, Mr. O'DWYER, and Mr. O'CONNELL thought the bill too bad to be amended.—The latter said.

What! if they wished to carry such principles as these—if they wished to put such a bill as this into operation, why not commence in the proper quarter? (Hear, hear.) Why not do away with the dining parties of the great—why not compel the wealthy to pay a more marked reverence to the obligations of the Sabbath—why not debar the proud aristocrat from compelling his menial to curtsy his horse, or his cook to serve up his turtle or his venison! (Cheers.) Why not do away with the worst species of slavery—worse than all, because domestic—the slavery of menials and servants! (Cheering.) Why not prohibit their cabinet councils and their cabinet dinners (slight cheering)—why not be manly enough to enact at once, that no rich man should dare to do what the poor man was afraid to venture on—why not do away with the Sunday drive in the Regent's park—why not shut up Hyde park—why not do away with the loitering in Rotten-row; or say that there should be no carriage-drive in the circle, as there should be no cab in the street! (Cheering.) Why not do this, and then he (Mr. O'Connell) would give him (Sir Andrew) credit, which he did not now, for sincerity—as the people would give him credit for a manly and straightforward determination to act justly by all! (Cheers.) He begged leave to say, that in these matters there could not be too much prudence: no man could possibly be too cautious in imposing his own religious sentiments and opinions upon others. (Hear, hear.) He had said, that this bill was opposed to the genius and to the principles of Christianity; and if he were called upon to show it, he would say that litigation—that domestic slavery—that private information—that the calling in of the police magistrate—that unequal legislation—that the secret oath (that curse and bane of society)—(cheers)—that by these things more vice was entailed on society, than by all the practices which this bill was intended to put down. (Loud cheers.) And yet he would pray the hon. baronet to consider how many persons, by the working of this bill would be placed in the predicament which he had described. Let him not think that this was a time, or this a house of parliament, to pass a bill for coercive piety (cheers)—to originate a sort of legislative godliness (hear,) or act of parliament holiness. (Hear.) He could not think so; and he hoped such attempts would ever be met, as they had been that night, and ought to be, with argument on the one hand, and contempt and ridicule on the other. (Hear.) It had been the exclamation of one, during the guilty days of the first French revolution, when standing on the guillotine, "Oh Liberty! what crimes have been committed in thy name!" and with equal truth it might be said, "Oh Religion! what criminality has not thy cloak covered!" For heaven's sake, let them avoid such courses as these, and let them vie one with another, in friendship and good feeling, in exalting the moral sense of the country; but let them not imagine that the power of an act of parliament could avail, if the dictates of God himself should be disregarded, or that their puny efforts would succeed where his mighty agencies had failed.

Sir M. W. RIDLEY thought the measure particularly unnecessary for the people of this country. On the continent, even in protestant countries, the theatres were opened on the Sunday evening, and the illustrious duke who represented his majesty in Hanover was accustomed to hold levees on the Sunday morning, and attend the opera in the evening; yet he had never heard that the people were less religious because they partook of innocent amusements on the sabbath. He was not disposed to condemn the laborer who passed the Sunday evening in playing at cricket. The amusement was innocent, and kept those engaged in it from ale-houses, and from the commission of crime.—

Mr. A. JOHNSTONE said, that every one of the provisions of the proposed measure was well calculated to meet the necessities and wishes of numerous classes of his majesty's subjects.—The house divided: ayes, 125; noes, 161; majority against the bill, 36.

Thus the Pharisee's bill has been thrown out, by a majority of 161 to 125, the numbers last year having been 79 against 73. This denotes the progress of more enlightened opinions; and the spirit of the house, in the discussion of Wednesday night, was on the whole satisfactory.

### July 3.

Mr. O'CONNELL wished to put a question to the right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Littleton.) He saw from the statements in the newspaper that the Coercion Bill was to be renewed in a certain shape. He wished to know whether the Bill in that shape had been advised or applied for by the present Irish Government. He begged to ask whether this was true or not?

Mr. LITTLETON—I do not think it is right or proper to make this inquiry before the Bill comes into this House, nor do I think I am bound to answer any such inquiry. Notwithstanding I feel no difficulty in saying that the measure has received the sanction of the Irish Government.

Mr. O'CONNELL—That is not a distinct answer to my question. I asked whether the Coercion Bill, as introduced into the other House, was advised or applied for by the Irish Government.

Mr. LITTLETON—I have no other answer to make except the one I have already given.

Mr. O'CONNELL—That is a very safe course of proceeding to adopt.

Is it the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce the Bill into this House in its present shape?

Mr. LITTLETON—I cannot at present answer that question. The subject is one to be considered by me and by the other Members of his Majesty's Government, and is one which rests between them and me. However, I beg to state that when the Bill is introduced into this House it is my intention to vote for it.

Mr. O'CONNELL—If that be the case I am exceedingly deceived by the right Hon. Gentleman.

Mr. LITTLETON said that after the tendency of the observations of the Learned Gentleman it would be necessary for him to address the House for a few minutes. In doing so he felt convinced that whatever feelings, be they political or otherwise, divided parties in that House, they were always guided by sentiments of honor and by the feelings of Gentlemen, and that when such was the case it made that House at all times a safe tribunal to be appealed to by any man, and, no matter what might be the party he was connected with, he might be sure of obtaining at the hands of that House, a fair and impartial hearing.—(Hear.) It would be hardly necessary for him to state to the House the circumstances to which the Learned Member alluded; but when he had stated them he felt confident that the only result dangerous to him would be that he might be accused of indiscretion, whilst it would be for the House to judge what would be the result to the other party after the explanation on both sides were listened to. It would be in the recollection of the House that many attempts were made, and every opportunity seized, to put questions in order to elicit a premature declaration as to the intentions of the Government relative to the renewal of the Coercion Bill. Not only were such attempts made in that House, but other means tending to the same effect were resorted to elsewhere.

At that time it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to renew the Coercion Bill for Ireland, but it was to be renewed with certain limitations, and the government had not agreed as to the precise extent to which those alterations were to be carried. He made this statement, for he saw that, from the earliest announcement respecting this measure in the other House of Parliament, the Learned Member for Dublin was determined on resorting to a violent course of proceeding. He begged to say that he then thought it both a matter of interest and importance, as well as of kindness, towards the Learned Member, to caution him as to the course he might take, and to tell him, whilst the question was yet undecided—whilst no exact course was resolved upon as to the limitations, of the Coercion Bill—not to indulge in those feelings which seemed to actuate his mind on the subject. Then, after having consulted with friends in whose advice and secrecy he could confide, he did, under authority which he deemed sufficiently to justify him in doing so, enter into communication with the learned Member. The communication was accordingly forwarded, and in a few hours afterwards the learned Member came to the Irish Office, where he (Mr. Littleton) then was. When the learned Member came into the office, he (Mr. Littleton) told him he had a communication to make to him which he felt sure the learned Member would receive with pleasure. But at the same time he told the learned Member that the communication he had to make was one of a strictly confidential nature, and that it was to be made under the seal of secrecy. It was under an injunction of secrecy that he made the communication, and the learned member appeared to him to receive and acknowledge it as such; if not, let him now say so, and contradict the statement.

Mr. O'CONNELL—I shall make no answer at present. I shall have so many things to contradict, that I mean to wait until it is my turn to reply.

Mr. LITTLETON—Under that injunction the communication was made, and he then said that he saw from the Learned Member's letter to the electors of Wexford that his feelings were hurrying him into a violent course of proceeding. He (Mr. Littleton) thought, therefore, that he was pursuing a proper course, and one that would be beneficial to the Government and to Ireland, when he made the communication to the Learned Member, in order that the Irish people might know what remained for them to expect. He consequently then told the Learned Member that the Coercion Act was to be renewed, though he did not say when the Government had come to that decision, since he thought the communication would stand better simply made so. He further added, that there were to be alterations and limitations in the Act, but that Government had not then decided as to what they should be; and he added, that probably he might be enabled to inform the Learned Gentleman of the day when these limitations were decided upon. He was free to avow that he certainly did tell the Learned Member that he (Mr. Littleton) had the strongest feelings of aversion to the renewal of that portion of the Coercion Act which related to the suppression of public meetings in Ireland. He believed those were his exact words; he might perhaps have used a stronger expression; but they could not be tortured to any other meaning than that he expressed an opinion that it was not likely that that part of the Coercion Act would be renewed. This was the communication he had made, but, though it had been made indiscreetly, it would be improper for him to try and reverse it, or alter his opinions. The House would feel the embarrassment of his case, and there were several things which the duties of his office prevented him from disclosing, relative to this transaction. He also told the Learned Member, still cautioning him to be discreet and secret, that he should soon have another communication to make to him. But in a few days after this transaction, he heard rumors circulating about that House, which led him to believe that the Learned Member must have divulged the communication made to him under the seal of secrecy. He then resolved to have no longer any communication with the Learned Member. What was the course he then took?

When he found that several other Members were anxious to know what the measure was to be, he again consulted the individuals to whom he had already alluded, and they and he thought it was necessary to communicate again with the Learned Member, since they knew that on the question of titles and other measures it would be advantageous to him to have the Learned Member's assistance, and that he should not be excited by the idea that the Bill was not to be altered. He, therefore, requested a common friend to communicate to the Learned Gentleman the decision the Government had come to. Not content even with that, he (Mr. Littleton) went across the House to the Learned Member, and asked him whether he had received the communication. The Learned Member replied that he had, and then he (Mr. Littleton) begged of him not to announce his intention until he had heard what was done in the other House. He now owned, after what had happened, that he had been guilty of gross indiscretion, and he freely confessed his error. He did not know, however, but happily it was not a matter of much importance to him to know, how the Learned Member could justify himself in the eyes of the House for his violation of secrecy. For his own part he would say that in making those communications he had been actuated by a wish to ensure the public safety, as well as by a sense of kindness towards the Learned Member, to prevent him from adopting a course of proceeding that would be prejudicial to Ireland and embarrassing to the Government. He had been disappointed in his wishes, and the conduct of the Learned Member had convinced him that it was not safe to have any communication with him on public matters, except across the table of that House.—(Hear.)



Mr. O'CONNELL said that as he would confide in no allegations made by the Right Hon. Gentleman it would be better for him for the future to make them publicly, in order that all might see what they were really worth. The Right Hon. Gentleman was exceedingly cautious about giving dates, and dates in this transaction were every thing. In this matter it was not his intention to introduce names. The Right Hon. Gentleman had said that the question had been asked by him about the Coercion Bill. It was not by him that those questions were in the first instance asked. On the contrary, they were asked by Hon. Members who were decidedly opposed to the present Government. These questions were asked before the Cambridge and Edinburgh elections, in order to know whether Government had made up its mind as to the Coercion Act. For himself he asked no question until he had heard of what was announced by Earl Grey in the other House.

With respect to the Wexford election, he took certainly a part in it, and addressed a public letter to the electors; but he did so without consulting the Right Hon. Gentleman, or asking him what was his intention relative to the Coercion Act. He had never asked to go to the Irish Office. He never wanted to go there, since he did not want to hold an office in the police or any other department; and he could not be told, though other Irish Members were, that he had received a situation in the police. The grounds of his appeal to the people of Wexford were that he was convinced of the determination of the Government to renew the Coercion Act. He thought, then, that all question between him and the Government on the subject was at an end. But he did more; he wrote a letter to the Reformers of England which he intended to publish in an English newspaper. That letter was actually in type, and he had a proof of it when the Right Hon. Gentleman sent a most respectable Gentleman, the Hon. Member for Kildare, to him (Mr. O'Connell) when he was sitting as Chairman of the Committee on the Inns of Court, requesting him to go to the Right Hon. Gentleman at the Irish Office, as he (Mr. Littleton) had something to communicate of importance. The Right Hon. Gentleman sent for him (Mr. O'Connell). He (Mr. Littleton) had no right to do so, for the purpose that he did. If he wanted him (Mr. O'Connell) he (Mr. L.) might have come to his (Mr. O'Connell's) residence, as he could have learned from the Irish office where to find him. He (Mr. Littleton) knew that he did not send for him (Mr. O'Connell) as a private Gentleman, but as the representative of a party out of that House, and to induce him not to interfere in a particular election. The House would bear in mind that one of the candidates of the county of Wexford was a Whig—rather a rare thing in Ireland—and he (Mr. O'Connell) was about to recommend a Repealer. And here he begged to observe that he would not have repeated a word on the subject if he had not been—he would not say tricked—but deluded by the Right Hon. Gentleman in the conversation that he (Mr. O'Connell) had had with him (Mr. Littleton). All conversation between Gentlemen was confidential, but this was not binding when it was tainted by the practice of deceit, and it was intended to get an advantage by means of the conversation—One of the first things the Right Hon. Gentleman said in the conversation alluded to was "You have written a letter to the constituents of Wexford on the subject of the election?" He said other things which it was not necessary for him to mention, and also alluded to some communications which the Marquis of Anglesey had done him (Mr. O'Connell) the honor to make him on the subject of the Government of Ireland, and said also that he (Mr. O'Connell) was one of the few individuals in whom he could confide. Of course he (Mr. O'Connell) never had mentioned this; but for what purpose the Right Hon. Gentleman mentioned to him what he was about to state? The Right Hon. Gentleman said that the renewal of the Irish Coercion Bill had not been called for by the Irish Government, that it had not been called for by him (Mr. Littleton), and that therefore he (Mr. O'Connell) was doing wrong with regard to the Wexford letter, and that it was not necessary for him (Mr. O'Connell) to do more in the matter. He (Mr. Littleton) also said that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland agreed with him (Mr. Littleton), and was opposed to it. That being said, he went away satisfied, and determined to act in a way in which he should not have acted had it not been for the conversation with the Right Hon. Gentleman, namely, he communicated to those for whom he acted that it was not necessary to proceed, as the Coercion Bill, if it were introduced, would not contain anything materially objectionable. But the Right Hon. Gentleman had also said that Mr. O'Connell might be perfectly satisfied as to one thing, namely, that, whoever brought the Coercion Bill forward in that House, it would not be the Right Hon. Gentleman himself. Now let the House see what advantage the Right Hon. Gentleman had gained by this proceeding.

He (Mr. O'Connell) had abstained from taking an active part for the candidate who entertained views similar to his own, and a gentleman was likely to succeed in the contest who, to say the least of him, was not very popular. They had sent to him from Wexford, requesting that a member of his (Mr. O'Connell's) family, might be sent over to take part in the election. He had, however, declined doing so. The consequence then of the conversation with the Right Hon. Gentleman was, that the Whig candidate had on the first day a majority of 111 over his opponent. He (Mr. O'Connell) could not tell what would be the result, as he had not heard what was the state of the poll on Monday.—He would, however, venture to say, that if he had taken part in the election, and if one of his family had gone down, the majority which he had mentioned would have been greatly cut down. He would also observe, that if the Right Hon. Gentleman, succeeded in carrying the election, it would have been by the practice of deception. The case then was, that the Right Hon. Gentleman had practised deception at the same time that he charged him (Mr. O'Connell) with having indulged a confidential conversation. Was, then, the Right Hon. Gentleman to carry a bill through that House which he had pledged himself not to introduce, but which he now stated himself to be favourable to? It ought also to be recollected that this took place at about the period of the Cambridge and Edinburgh elections. He (Mr. O'Connell) trusted that he should not appeal in vain to the Reformers of England, he asked them whether they were prepared to carry the Coercion Bill because the Government chose to call for it? If, at the time he had the conversation in question, with the Right Hon. Gentleman, he had called upon the people of Ireland, they would have had before this a petition on the table signed by upwards of half a million of persons. As it was, the Right Hon. Gentleman had got a full fortnight.—(Mr. Littleton, "No, no.")—He (Mr. O'Connell) said yes, yes, a full fortnight. The Right Hon. Gentleman also gained an advantage for the *Tithes Bill* by his conduct. He had also prevented his (Mr. O'Connell's) exertions in England, and Scotland, for he did not believe the people in that country to be so dead to feeling as not to feel deeply interested in the liberties of their fellow subjects.

He had stated to several of his friends also that there was no necessity for a call of the House on the subject of the Coercion Bill, for the measure that would be brought forward, was of such a nature that it would not be necessary to offer it much opposition, and that things were so arranged that the Session would soon end. He had been deceived by the Right Hon. Gentleman, Government had determined otherwise than what the Right Hon. Gentleman said would be the case, and he (Mr. Littleton) now came forward and stated that he would support the bill in

that House. He (Mr. O'Connell) could only state then that the Right Hon. Gentleman, by the statement he had made, had gained an advantage over him (Mr. O'Connell). He would not enter into degrading comparisons; but he would say that no man had a right to call him (Mr. O'Connell) to his place, and to make a communication to him which induced him to pursue a particular line of conduct, and then to turn round and charge him with divulging a confidential conversation. The Right Hon. Gentleman knew that he was surrounded by his friends; but he (Mr. O'Connell) would appeal to any of them what could be their opinion of a Minister who sent to any one of their houses and explained a particular line of conduct, that Government had adopted with a view to influence them, and they afterwards found that a different course was to be adopted. He (Mr. O'Connell) had been deceived on the subject, and he did believe they would succeed again. The Right Hon. Gentleman talked a great deal about inadvertence; but he was not such a young man as not to know when a Minister made a communication to a Member who had the lead in a party in that House, it was not made for the purpose of influencing the conduct of the body. The Right Hon. Gentleman had succeeded in deceiving him (Mr. O'Connell), and had made use of the conversation for the purpose of deception; but the mask of the Right Hon. Gentleman had assumed must be torn away.

They had not much varied in their statements as to the conversation which took place; but he could appeal to the House as to what was the situation of the Government when they felt obliged to resort to such means for the purpose of deceiving those opposed to them. The Right Hon. Gentleman might be quite sure that he (Mr. O'Connell) would never trust him again.

Mr. LITTLETON did not feel called upon to say much in reply to the statement of the honorable and learned gentlemen. The honorable Member had endeavored to induce the House to believe that he (Mr. Littleton) had taken the steps which he had in order to deceive him (Mr. O'Connell). Now he (Mr. Littleton) was sure that the learned Member did not believe himself when he made such a statement; at any rate he (Mr. Littleton) was sure that the House would not believe one word on the subject.—(Hear.) It was well known and perfectly clear that the speech of the learned member was made with a view to make the House believe that he (Mr. Littleton) had tricked him, with the intention of justifying the making public a confidential communication; and he would say that a grosser breach of confidence never occurred.

Mr. O'CONNELL—I deny it.

Mr. LITTLETON said that he had imposed the strictest secrecy on the learned gentleman, and he (Mr. O'Connell) was bound to divulge nothing that took place. He (Mr. Littleton) at the same time felt bound to communicate to the learned gentleman the determination of the Government as soon as he possibly could, and he made that communication to him previous to the debate on the *tithe question*. He admitted all that the Hon. Member had stated had passed at the interview. The substance he believed was true, but he thought the learned Member was in error, with respect to the dates. He believed the conversation took place on Monday week, but he could not speak with certainty. He admitted he might not be very accurate as to the date of a communication, when he had no suspicion that he should be deceived. At the time, however, in question, the subject was under the consideration of the Government, but since then the Government, and he believed unanimously, had come to the determination that it was necessary to renew the Coercion Bill, as it was. When he heard of this, he lost not a moments time in seeking out the means of communicating the matter to the learned gentleman. He (Mr. Littleton) had requested the Member for Bridport to do so.—(Mr. O'Connell, "Yes, on Friday last.") It was on Thursday last, he asked his Hon. friend to see the Hon. and learned Member; and so anxious was he (Mr. Littleton) not to let there be any appearance of his wishing to get a conciliatory speech from the learned Member on the *Tithe Bill*, that on Friday he (Mr. Littleton) went across the House, and asked the Hon. Member whether he had heard that such was the case. These were all the facts of the case.

Mr. O'CONNELL stated that there was a fact connected with that subject, which he was anxious to mention. He had stated to the right honorable gentleman, that if the Government intended to propose the renewal of the Coercion Bill, he intended to move, that the Report of Sir Henry Parnell's Committee, in 1832, be referred to, and that the plan of that right honorable gentleman should be printed, when the right Hon. Secretary for Ireland said, that it was quite unnecessary to do so. The right Hon. gentleman (Mr. Littleton) had also stated that he had informed him (Mr. O'Connell), on Friday night, that it was the intention of the Government, to renew the Coercion Bill, but he (Mr. Littleton) had forgotten the subsequent observations. On that occasion, he (Mr. O'Connell) observed to the right Hon. gentleman, that under the circumstances, he (Mr. Littleton) had but one course to pursue, as he had deceived him, namely, to resign. The answer of the right Hon. gentleman, was—"Do not say a word more on the subject to-day."

Mr. LITTLETON denied that any observations like those described by the honorable and learned Member had been made by him with reference to the report of the committee, in 1832. He declared on the honor of a gentleman, nothing of the kind had passed between them.

Mr. O'CONNELL—On the honor of a gentleman, it did.

Mr. LITTLETON—On the honor of a gentleman it did not.

Mr. O'CONNELL—Does the Right Hon. gentleman mean to deny that he spoke to me on the subject?

Mr. LITTLETON recollected the learned gentleman saying something to him on the subject on passing, on that (the Ministerial) side of the House, but he denied most distinctly having said one word as to its being unnecessary.

Mr. O'CONNELL—Why, then, did I not persist in making my motion?

Mr. LITTLETON—It is impossible for me to state the reason.

Mr. O'CONNELL—It is obvious the right Hon. gentleman's answer influenced me.

Mr. LITTLETON said the learned gentleman had also stated that he had called upon him (Mr. Littleton) to resign, and he replied, "Do not mention the subject at present." Now the fact was this, the Hon. Member certainly called upon him to resign, but he (Mr. Littleton) said, in reply, "Whatever may be your feeling or opinion on the subject at present, do not disclose the matter now; wait till Lord Grey has made his speech."

[A message from the Lords, stating their lordship's concurrence in several bills, interrupted the conversation for a few minutes.]

Mr. O'CONNELL hoped that there would be no objection to lay before the House copies of all communications between the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Government of this country, respecting the Coercion Bill. If this were agreed to it would at once give a test as to the accuracy of the statements of the Rt. Hon. Gentleman or himself. Either the Lord Lieutenant did or did not suggest the renewal of the Bill. The Right Hon. Gentleman had made a statement to him (Mr. O'Connell), and let it appear whether the statement could be borne out by the communications of the Lord Lieutenant. He would appeal to the House, whether, after the statement of the Right Hon. Gentleman, the papers

he (Mr. O'Connell) had called for, should not be produced. The Right Hon. Gentleman had stated that the Lord Lieutenant had not called for the bill. Let him produce the communication he (Mr. O'Connell) had called for, to show this was the case. He implored those Hon. Gentlemen who had cheered the Right Hon. Gentleman, to assist him in getting at the facts of the case. It had been stated in the other House that the bill was demanded by Lord Wellesley, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Was the Noble Earl at the head of the Government deceived, or was the Right Hon. Gentleman deceived? Let them have the entire communications on the subject on the table of the House. If the Right Hon. Gentleman would furnish the document he (Mr. O'Connell) called for, it would at once bring the matter to the test, and the House would be able to determine whether the Lord Lieutenant wished to renew the bill at the time of the conversation, or whether the statement made in another place was correct. If the latter was not the case, the Right Hon. Gentleman had the strongest motives for producing these papers. If he did not, the inference would be perfectly obvious, and he (Mr. O'Connell) must add, not very favorable to the Right Hon. Gentleman. He hoped the Right Hon. Gentleman would vindicate his conduct by producing those documents. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman concluded with moving that an Address be presented to his Majesty that he would be pleased to direct that there be laid before the House copies of all communications between the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Government of this country, respecting the renewal of the Coercion Bill.

Mr. LITTLETON said that it had hitherto been the custom of the House, and he trusted that it would not be departed from, to leave it to the Government to submit to Parliament such parts of correspondence, or papers justifying any measure, as it may think fit. It was only a few days ago, he said, that such a correspondence would be furnished to the House as would be necessary for the justification of Government in the course it had taken. He should oppose the motion.

Mr. O'REILLY felt great difficulty in addressing the House after the statements they had heard on the one side, and the contradictions they had heard on the other. He felt bound, however, at once to state to his Majesty's Government that, if they did not justify themselves from the charge made against them by the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, he (Mr. O'Reilly) should feel bound to adopt a different course towards them from what he had done since he had the honor of a seat in that House. The House might well believe that he (Mr. O'Reilly) had little in common in politics with the Hon. and Learned Member for Dublin, when he stated that he had not spoken to that Hon. and Learned Member for upwards of two years. [A laugh.] It was not, therefore, to favor that Hon. Member, that he made these observations, but he felt that it was necessary for the justification of the character of himself and other Irish members who had supported the Government, that all the documents should be laid on the table. He would not say any thing as to the motives that might actuate parties in their opposition to Government, but he felt bound at once to state that he should not hereafter be able to give that entire confidence and support to the Government which he had hitherto done, if a fair statement of the facts which rendered it necessary to renew the Coercion Bill was not laid before the House.

Mr. H. GRATTAN said that as he had just returned from Ireland, he would take the earliest opportunity of stating, no news ever received in that country excited more surprise than that of the renewing the Coercion Bill—Nothing had ever excited more astonishment or stronger feelings of indignation against his Majesty's Ministers. He was the more surprised at their conduct when he recollected the extreme difficulty they had of inducing English Members to support the former bill. The only documents hitherto furnished to justify this measure, were three Reports signed by a few Magistrates. He could tell the House that if they passed such a measure they would alienate the feelings of the people of Ireland, not from the King, but from the Government and Parliament of this country. He denied that either Bonaparte or the Emperor Nicholas ever attempted to enforce such a tyrannical measure on the people under their rule. He had no hesitation in saying that the people of Ireland would be traitors to themselves if they did not resist the bill to the utmost. He was sure if the Government persisted in their present conduct that it would end in the separation of the two countries. When the bill was brought down from the other House he should move the call of the House, and should also propose, as an amendment to the second reading, a Resolution to the effect that no Minister proposing the suspension of the liberties of any portion of the people was worthy of confidence, or ought to hold a place in the councils of the King. The Right Hon. Secretary would have better done his duty to Ireland if he had brought in a Bread Bill to afford relief to the starving population of Ireland than have proposed such a measure as the Coercion Bill.

Mr. SHIEL stated that the Marquis Wellesley was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1822 and 1823, when the Insurrection Act was brought forward. The Whigs were then in opposition, and they insisted upon the production of documents which had induced Government to bring forward the bill, and they were met with similar excuses to those made by the Right Hon. Secretary. Lord Wellesley was then the Tory Lord Lieutenant, but he was now the Whig Lord Lieutenant, and surely they were bound to produce the documents called for. But was there not a private reason for the production of these papers? Did not much of the merits of the case between his honorable and learned friend and the Right Hon. Secretary depend on their production? Was not his honorable and learned friend justified in stating that he had been deceived when he was told that the Lord Lieutenant was against the renewal of that part of the Coercion Bill which referred to public meetings if the papers were not produced? The Right hon. Gentleman was aware that the time was arrived when the House was called upon to renew this bill. The Right Hon. Gentleman, then, ought in justification of himself and of the Government, to bring forward the reasons which had induced the Lord Lieutenant to change his opinions.

Mr. F. O'CONNOR said that the Right Hon. Gentleman had challenged his Hon. and Learned Friend with a breach of confidence in stating in public a private conversation; but the truth was that his Hon. and Learned Friend was very near losing the confidence of the people of Ireland in not explaining the reasons to pursue the conduct which he was induced to do in consequence of the communication with the Right Hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. O'Connor) would only add that he had heard little or nothing on the subject of the Coercion Bill from his Hon. and Learned Friend; but he had heard a great deal from some gentlemen connected with Government. He was sorry that his Hon. and Learned Friend had suffered himself to be influenced for a single moment by the communication made to him. His (Mr. O'Connell's) conduct with regard to the *Tithe Bill* had not tended to increase his popularity in Ireland.

After a few words from Mr. Roche,

Mr. O'CONNELL said that he would not divide the House, although the question should be put in order to have his motion on the votes. The Right Hon. Gentleman had succeeded once in deceiving him; but he (Mr. O'Connell) would take care that he should not do so again. The Right Hon. Gentleman now refused to bring forward the papers called for; and made the excuse that he was going to bring forward other papers which had nothing to do with the matter in question. He (Mr. O'Connell) did not envy the feelings of the Right Hon. Gentleman.

The motion was then put, and negatived.